The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

As we anticipated in our last issue, the addition of Irish redistribution to the Reform Bill has brought about a regrettable delay in its progress. But for this, the Bill would have been sent up to the Lords in the first week of December; for the end of the Report stage is being reached as these words are written. As it is, the Bill will have to be re-committed with reference to the new schedule, and the most favourable anticipation now names December 10 as the earliest date on which the Bill can reach the House of Lords. Three weeks or a month will probably be required for its consideration there, which means that Parliament will have to adjourn over Christmas, instead of proroguing before that date as was orginally hoped. It is now expected that the Representation of the People Bill will receive the Royal Assent some time in January, and that the Prorogation will take place before the end of that month. The delay is, to say the least, disappointing to those who see no reason why it should have been allowed to occur. But, active as the enemies of the Bill undoubtedly are, calling still for perpetual vigilance on our part, we see little reason to suppose that they can seriously imperil its passage into law in view of the urgent need for a new Parliamentary Register, and of the prolongation of the present Parliament for the purpose of preparing that Register.

Changes in the Bill

Some important changes have been made in the Bill during the Report stage. First of these, as affecting women, is the success of the amendment by which the wives of municipal electors shall, on attaining the age of 30, be qualified to vote in municipal elections. This was passed without a division; and not the least significant aspect of this very notable women's victory (involving the addition of some millions of women to the local government register) was the admission made by Mr. Arnold Ward in the course of the debate, that it would serve to remove in the House of Lords one reason for opposing the women's Parliamentary vote. We are sorry that the Government did not see its way to supporting Mr. Holt's amendment, which was afterwards withdrawn, to qualify a woman for the University vote if she had passed such examinations as would entitle her to a degree if she were a man. But it is all to the good that Mr. Hayes Fisher undertook to bring the matter to the notice of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, besides saying he was not without hope that the pressure of public opinion would induce them to confer degrees on women as the newer universities did. He intimated further that the matter might be brought up again on the Report stage in the House of Lords. It will be interesting if in the end the pressure of women's political enfranchisement does win their degrees for them at Oxford and Cambridge; for that is virtually what Suffragists always declared would happen.

A Reactionary Step

Believing as profoundly as we do in the democratic ideal, we think the House of Commons has taken a step backwards in deciding to disfranchise the conscientious objector. We remember that at the height of the militant agitation many people clamoured for the disfranchisement of all militant Suffragists, should a Franchise Bill be introduced; and we think now, as we thought then, that a Parliament acting on impulse in such a matter would fall below its own standards, and, at the same time, by ignoring the rights of minorities, establish a dangerous precedent for the future. The purpose of the Representation of the People Bill should be to place as many people as possible upon the Register, not to find pretexts for keeping people off it. We have always maintained that the only basis for enfranchisement is a man's or a woman's citizenship; if this principle is departed from in the case of the unpopular minority of to-day, the power is given to posterity to disfranchise the unpopular minority of to-morrow. Whatever opinion may be held by our readers with regard to the conscientious objector—and we imagine they differ as widely on this as on all other subjects except Woman Suffrage—they must, as true democrats, agree with us in deploring that a new qualification for the vote should be set up, and a section of the people disfranchised, by the same Bill that at long last enfranchises the women of this country.

Suffrage in America

The great victory on November 6, by which New York State voted for the enfranchisement of its women, on equal terms with men, by a majority of more than 80,000, is a great step forward in the progress of women all over the world. Only two years ago, this State rejected the Woman Suffrage amendment; and its change of heart to-day reflects a change that is going on all over the civilized world. The discriminating action of the late Canadian Government, in giving the Federal vote to the wives, widows, sisters and daughters of men in uniform, in its War Time Election Act, will give women some 450,000 votes in the coming elections, though not, we think, on the right democratic basis. It does not even achieve its own object, for many Red Cross nurses and other war workers will not gain the vote under this half-hearted franchise; and we hope the succeeding Government will enfranchise all adult women on the basis of their citizenship—as, indeed, Sir Robert Borden has promised to do if returned to power.

The Right to Uxoricide

Within the last month two cases of wife-murder have been tried with remarkable results. In one case, a soldier on leave shot his wife on the Bristol railway platform, and when arrested frankly admitted that he had done it, and said "she had been misconducting herself." According to the *Times* report, "the Judge [Lord Coleridge] told the jury that they could not judge a man who was accustomed to the grim side of war as they would an ordinary prisoner." The man was acquitted. In the other case, a soldier "gave himself up to the police and said his wife had been unfaithful to him during his absence in France. The woman was found in the house with her throat cut." (*Times* report.) The jury found him guilty of manslaughter with a recommendation to mercy, and he was sentenced to five years' penal servitude. The Judge expressed himself "quite satisfied with the verdict." We cannot do better than repeat the comment of Mrs. Rose Cox in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*:—

> It is incredible that an English judge should recommend and uphold a verdict which, in placing in the hands of men the power of life and death over their wives, puts our society on a level with that of the most savage races, and I cannot believe that, when its import is realised, the women of the country will acquiesce in this ruling.

On these terms, any soldier "accustomed to the grim side of war" will have a right to kill his wife for infidelity on his return, and need expect little or no penalty. Will wives have the right to kill their husbands for the same offence? Mrs. Pecies, who did not even kill the scoundrel who had foully wronged her, is still serving her seven years' penal servitude.

The Women's Club in Southwark

On Saturday, December 8, at 3 o'clock, Lady Cowdray will open the Christmas Sale in the Central Hall, Westminster, which the United Suffragists are holding in aid of their women's club in Southwark. We confidently recommend our readers, whatever claims may already exist upon their generosity, to "do their bit" towards supporting this club by coming to the Sale and buying their Christmas presents, their provisions and other household goods, all of which will be provided at reasonable prices upon the Stalls. We know of many women and girls, including the club members themselves (who have little enough to spare), who have been denying themselves for weeks in order to bring tea, sugar, matches and other war rarities to be sold at the Sale, in the hope that the Club may be kept open another year. It means a very

great deal to many who find life increasingly hard in these tragic days, to have a warm room to go to, papers to read, concerts and lectures to attend, jolly people to talk to, simple food to eat at cost price. All this will depend upon the money raised on December 8. Will our readers, especially the wealthier ones, remember this when the day comes?

Our Controversial Articles

We have received a great many communications on the subject of "Women and Divorce," some agreeing and some disagreeing with the article on this subject by Miss F. G. Hogarth, which appeared in our October number. Miss Hogarth will reply to her critics in our next issue. Meanwhile, we invite correspondence on Mr. Pethick Lawrence's article, "Paying for the War," which brings to a close in this number of VOTES FOR WOMEN his interesting series on "National Housekeeping." It raises several controversial points, notably that of "conscription of wealth," and any views upon this should provide a profitable discussion in these pages.

Items of Interest

The suffrage has been granted to all women who can read and write in the State of Guanajuato (Mexico).

The Institute of Bankers has opened its preliminary examination for the coming year to women.

A resolution was passed at a recent meeting of the Women's Industrial Council, calling upon women engaged in clerical employment after the war to insist upon adequate salaries and reasonable conditions of employment, and deciding to nominate a committee to influence public opinion in this direction.

A proposal is under consideration, according to the *Times*, to establish a Women's Corps in which will be enrolled all women employed by Government Departments other than Government factories.

The National Federation of Women Workers have decided by an overwhelming majority to become affiliated with the Labour Party. This gives the Federation the right to run a candidate for Parliament, who, Miss Macarthur told a Press representative, might possibly be a woman.

Some 14,000 women are now at work in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps; and 10,000 a month are asked for.

At a meeting of the Fight for Right Movement, Lord Leverhulme stated that a manufacturer, who reduced a 53 hour week, in which his women employers lost 14 hours, to a 41 hour week, in which they lost only 1 hour, found that the women did 44½ per cent. more work in the 40 hours than they had done in the 39.

In a recent case at Rochester Police Court, it was said by a man earning more than £2 a week that his wife and children were in the workhouse because he could not get a house.

At a meeting of the Salvation Army Mrs. Bramwell Booth said, recently, that the public would support appeals for war purposes, but when they asked for money to save children it was like drawing double teeth.

Two women bell-ringers have been elected members of the Guildford Guild of Change Ringers.

EVELYN SHARP'S BANKRUPTCY

Last month, the Official Receiver in Bankruptcy at last determined to sell Miss Evelyn Sharp's furniture, seized last May in consequence of her resistance to taxation without representation. Accordingly, a few friends of the cause bought the furniture and lent it to Miss Sharp for her use and in order that she may continue to earn her livelihood as a writer. Unhappily, the purchase is far from terminating the bankruptcy, since the officials have run up the costs alone, to at least double the sum originally due; and for the payment of these costs the Official Receiver can continue indefinitely to claim such of Miss Sharp's property as he can lay his hands upon.

WOMEN AND DIVORCE

Two Views by Women Writers

By EDITH AYRTON ZANGWILL

In discussing this question it sometimes seems to be overlooked that the primary object of marriage is not happiness—that is a fortunate accident—but the production and upbringing of the next generation. For this purpose a permanent monogamous union between the parents is usually conceded to be the best condition, and, in a civilized state, it appears to be the only feasible one. Few men are able to support more than one family. Few women are able both to support and to tend a family—nor should they be required to do so. Nature has given the child two parents; it cannot satisfactorily dispense with either.

It is, however, rightly urged that there are circumstances which make the continuance of the union between the parents impracticable. The first of these is obviously adultery, with its possibility of further children inadequately parented. This *ipso facto* breaking of the marriage tie is already recognized by law; it only remains to make the grounds of divorce equal as regards the two sexes. The other conditions, which, while not physically terminating the union, make it intolerable, are, roughly speaking, cruelty, habitual drunkenness and insanity. These obstacles are at present met by legal separation. It is now suggested that this separation should be replaced by a divorce. But this would mean that a man or woman possessing such disastrous attributes would be legally set free to inflict the cruelty, drunkenness or insanity on a second family. Surely the solution would rather be to place these matrimonial undesirables under restraint, coupled if possible with wage-earning labour, the bulk of the wage to be handed over to the innocent family. Something of this sort has already been done in parts of the United States under the "Lazy Husbands" Act.

Duty and Loyalty above Affection

Putting on one side these definite conjugal stumbling blocks, we are told that if indifference exists on either or both sides, it ought in itself to constitute a ground of divorce. If, however, marriage be regarded from the point of view of service rather than pleasure, this contention largely disappears. Were a woman to abandon her child because she felt indifferent to it, the explanation would seem rather to increase than to diminish her offence. There are such things in the world as duty and loyalty which rank above affection. Moreover, in these days, no one is forced into marriage; the choice is, or should be, made for reasons of sentiment. Once the married couple is united they have no right to grow indifferent. If they cannot remain "in love," it is their business, at least, to remain in affection. Such a proceeding is more a question of will and of convention than is perhaps realized. I firmly believe that there are hundreds of thousands of people who have never had the least desire to break the marriage tie, and yet who would do so were it customary and respectable. And it is upon women that such easy severance would bear the hardest, inasmuch as they age earlier than men, and are, I think, by nature more affectionate and more constant. Indeed, were divorce obtainable by a comparatively short period of separation, would not many a conscientious woman lead a miserable life tormented by a feeling—probably erroneous—that she was not the most suitable mate for her husband and that she ought to set him free to make another selection?

An Inspiration or a Tragedy

In taking this rather prosaic view of marriage, I do not mean to imply that it can be nothing more. For the few, marriage, quite apart from the question of posterity, is an inspiration; just as for the few it is a tragedy. But for the bulk of mankind, for whom laws must be made, the state of matrimony is merely a state, a condition of usefulness, neither very happy nor very tragic. But the fact of the state being practically unchangeable does, in my opinion, tend to make it more happy and certainly more useful. It enables people to take themselves and their lives for granted; it sets them free from the small and selfish question of their own feelings and desires. Instead of indulging in the unprofitable employment of pulling up their emotions to examine the roots, they can turn their attention to the great work of the world and the well-being of humanity.

E. A. Z.

By MADGE MEARS

It is an unfortunate circumstance that so very few questions of public importance are discussed by the persons most likely to be affected by our proposed reforms. The Royal Commission on Venereal Disease sat for many months in solemn conclave, without taking the evidence of a single prostitute, or even of a single man or woman who admitted personal infection. The Divorce Commission sat in the same fashion, without taking the evidence of one solitary person whose life-partner had turned out to be a habitual drunkard, a drug-taker, a criminal, or a lunatic. And now we find the problem discussed in your columns by various highly respectable and intellectual people of equally limited experience—the marriage laws might be tightened or relaxed or abolished altogether, and they would probably remain individually unaffected. Yet the whole point of the question propounded in Miss Hogarth's original article was "do women hug *their* chains"—not "do they wish to hug somebody else's chains?"

I should say that the worst thing about the present divorce law is the undue stress it lays upon the purely physical side of marriage. The enormous majority of men and women marry for companionship and affection, or for a "home of their own," or because they want children, or because they want money; and only an infinitesimal minority ever have the slightest temptation to commit adultery afterwards. The law, however, enforces adultery upon every couple who find their union has been a mistake; the result being that half the couples who come into court would far rather have divorced themselves for some other reason if it had been possible to do so. At present it is not possible; therefore, the husband heroically "does the right thing" to secure his own liberty and that of the woman who may be still his very good friend; the usual transparent farce is gone through once again, and the halfpenny evening papers enjoy another boom in circulation.

Spiritual Aspect Above the Law

A private contract, terminable privately upon the wish of both parties, like any other deed of partnership, would be decent and reasonable and would avoid all this unpleasant washing of deliberately soiled linen in public; whilst the spiritual aspect of marriage would remain where it has always been—above the law, untouched by it and untouchable.

M. M.

(Further correspondence on the above subject will be found on the opposite page. In our next issue, Miss Hogarth will reply to her numerous critics.)

CORRESPONDENCE

THE TRAINED NURSE AND THE COLLEGE

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam,—As Suffragists always see—or try to see—the woman's point of view, I should like to point out to you that your note in the November issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN on "The Future of Nursing" shows that it is the masculine and lay aspect of this important question which has been put before you. May I trespass upon your valuable space by stating quite briefly what it is necessary all fair-minded people should know? I will put it categorically:—

(1) All nurses welcome the idea of a College of Nursing; but they want their College to be a *professional* body.

(2) The College of Nursing Company, Limited, is a *lay*, and not a professional, corporation. The seven signatories comprising the College are *laymen* to a man. There is not even a doctor among them.

(3) For many years there have existed many Societies of Trained Nurses which are well organised and self-governed. These Societies have been working unceasingly, the members spending their own money freely for the reform of the nursing profession; and a *professional* College of Nursing was part of their programme.

(4) A college is an educational body, and should not be made to serve as a channel for a charitable appeal to the public for nurses—without their permission, and against the wishes of a large number of them. Adequate provision for nurses, disabled or incapacitated through war service, should be the duty of the State.

(5) There is no analogy between the College of Nursing Company, Limited, and the Royal College of Surgeons and Physicians, the former being, as stated above, lay-controlled, and the latter essentially and entirely professional.

(6) The constitution of the College of Nursing Company, Limited, is of the most autocratic nature conceivable. The memorandum and Articles of Association of the said College show this. The *nominated* council has been appointed by the seven laymen.

(7) The right way to do a thing is to begin at the beginning. The Society for State Registration has done this by making that essential reform the first plank on their platform, and have worked for it untiringly. The Bill drafted by the Central Committee for State Registration is on pure democratic lines.

(8) Trained nurses want to manage their own affairs like every other profession. They don't want praise *ad nauseam* for doing their duty, and they don't want charity; but they do want freedom of conscience, speech and action.

(9) Many trained nurses are Suffragists, and have long realised what the power behind the Vote means, and they intend to use it for the uplifting of their profession, and therefore in the cause of humanity.—Yours, etc., BEATRICE KENT.

(Member of the Nurses' Protection Committee.)
13, Colosseum Terrace, N.W.1.

THE CRIMINAL LAW ADMENDMENT BILL

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam,—Your readers are doubtless acquainted with the provisions of the above Bill, and with the new proposal to give to Courts of Quarter Session the power to order convicted girls to be detained for years in "homes," instead of, as at first intended, allowing police court magistrates, who try the cases, to make the orders. May I suggest that something more is necessary to safeguard the liberty of unoffending girls, who would certainly not benefit by two or three years' detention, whatever the effect of such detention may be on guilty ones. The danger of "mistakes" is a very real one, and the sending of girls to Sessions to be dealt with by a Bench of magistrates after they have been tried, found guilty, and convicted by police court magistrates (who have scarcely any time for consideration) would be very little, if any, protection against that danger. As it now stands, the Act appears to be often used unfairly; and if it is to be "strengthened," as proposed, every care should be taken to have it justly administered. The wiser and safer course, I think, would be to give those charged under the Act the right of trial by their own sex. The proposed punishments are sufficiently heavy, even if the offences are not now thought to be serious enough for jury trial; and as women have practically won the franchise and are generally held to be in every way worthy of citizenship, they are surely best qualified to try such cases?—Yours, etc.,
141, Gower Street, W.C.1. JAMES TIMEWELL.

DIVORCE.

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam,—I have not seen any letters from Catholics amongst those you have inserted on the divorce question, so am sending a few lines which may help to make clear our position. It is generally known that our Church is opposed to divorce; but the grounds for, and the nature of, that opposition are not always clearly understood. I should like first to point out that the word "divorce" has often been used in different senses, and this causes confusion. For example, in the historical case of Henry VIII. and the Pope's refusal to grant him a divorce, it might be supposed that this was a divorce as it is generally understood to-day—that is, the complete dissolution of a marriage-tie up till then valid and binding. But this was not the case. What the King wanted was a declaration that his marriage had been null and void from the beginning. He failed to prove this; but had there been real proof of what he asserted, he could have had his so-called divorce. The word has also been used sometimes to denote what is now called a legal separation, *a mensa et thoro*, which is also allowed by the Catholic Church. But in the case of a marriage between Christians that is originally valid and that has been consummated, her teaching is that the bond is absolutely indissoluble except by death.

It may be asked why Catholics should trouble themselves about the proposed legislation to facilitate divorce, since it cannot affect them whether easy or difficult to obtain. I may give two chief reasons. First, because the passing of the proposed law could not fail to affect ourselves to some extent, inasmuch as every member of the Catholic Church is not such a good and fervent member as to comply willingly with her laws whatever hardship they may entail; and therefore, the more facilities for divorce there are, the more temptation there must be for lax Catholics to take advantage of what the Civil Law allows them to do. And others, not willingly lax, may do the same though ignorance.

My second reason is that the laws concern us not only as Catholics, but as members of the whole community. Divorce has been introduced as a remedy for great social evils; but it may happen sometimes that a proposed remedy is more harmful than the disease it is meant to cure. One may grant that in individual cases a divorce may be beneficial: but the question of marriage concerns the whole of human society, and we believe that the primary ground for its indissolubility lies in the nature of the contract itself. The natural object of marriage is the bringing of children into the world, and they belong to both parents alike, and both have duties to fulfil towards them. The Catholic Church teaches that the one safe remedy for unhappy marriages, and the one safeguard against them, is to promote amongst all classes a deeper sense of the mutual duty of lifelong faithfulness.

May I add the strong words of a non-Catholic, ex-President Roosevelt, as to the result of easy divorce in the United States? "Easy divorce is a bane for any nation, a curse to society, and a menace to the home, an evil thing for men and a still more hideous evil for women." Catholics are good patriots, and would save their country from such evils as are here denounced.—Yours, etc., ISABEL WILLIS.

(Hon. Press Sec., Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.)

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE BILL

Miss Llewelyn Davies writes from 28, Church Row, Hampstead, with reference to the above Bill, now before Parliament:—

The Bill provides a Government Grant to meet the deficiencies said to be due to married women's sickness. This indicates that the ordinary methods of Health Insurance are entirely unsuitable to the conditions of married women's lives. The test of incapacity for work is inapplicable, for instance, to pregnancy sickness, which requires preventive measures at the earliest stages, to enable rest and food to be secured. This can only be done through the Public health methods now being developed. A complete revision of the place of married women in Insurance is necessary. To tinker with financial difficulties without a valuation or any inquiry into administration is to destroy the opportunity for a real reform, and gives no security that the money provided will be applied as intended, e.g., to meet pregnancy sickness.

But more than this. The Bill takes away money contributed for the benefit of women's health and gives it as a "Marriage Benefit" to be spent on what?—furnishing the house, or any of the little extras a woman would like at the time of her marriage. The whole force of public opinion is in the direction of making more adequate provision for the needs of Maternity. Are we going to allow money available for this purpose and hitherto largely so used to be squandered on a "Marriage Benefit"?

Both this money and the £330,000 destined to relieve Societies' funds in respect of married women might be saved for preventive work, without any vital alteration in the rest of the Bill. Amendments should at once be tabled to transform the "Marriage Benefit" into a Maternity Benefit, and to strike out the Clause relating to the Women's Equalisation Fund.

Parliament should insist that the Ministry of Reconstruction should at once present a report on the position of married women under the Insurance Act. Meanwhile, the money released from the Sinking Fund should meet the deficiencies of all suitably-administered Societies. At this time, when everyone's thoughts are turning towards large measures of reconstruction, why should we not face the questions of Insurance and Women's Health and solve them on bold lines?

IMPORTANT NOTICE!

To United Suffragists Only

The attention of members of the U.S. is drawn to the section entitled "Executive Committee" on page 2 of the Constitution and Rules of the United Suffragists. In pursuance of the rules there laid down I hereby give notice that nominations for candidates for the Executive Committee (1918) must reach me not later than December 20, this being not less than three clear weeks before the Council meeting to be held on Saturday, January 19, at 2.30, at the small Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, W.C.2. All resolutions and notices of business to be discussed must also reach me not later than December 20.

The following members of the Executive Committee are due for retirement in January next: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Albert Dawson, Major H. J. Gillespie, D.S.O., Mr. Gerald Gould, Mrs. Ben Webster, Mrs. Whelen, but offer themselves for re-election.

Members are reminded that candidates may be nominated by Branches or by a nomination signed by five members of the Society; also that candidates must have been members of the Society for at least six months previous to the date of election.

Every member of the Society who has paid his or her membership fee of 1s. (minimum) will be able to vote for members of the Executive. Will those, therefore, who have neglected to do this, at once send me their fees for 1917?

(Signed) **Bertha Brewster**
(Hon. Secretary).

THE NATIONAL U.S. MEMBERS
Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the National Branch of the United Suffragists (all London members and those country members who are not attached to any local Branch) will be held on Thursday, December 13, at 6 p.m., at the small Essex Hall.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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DECEMBER, 1917.

IN SIGHT OF THE PROMISED LAND

The sweeping New York victory on November 6 has come as a great encouragement to British Suffragists, still waiting while their own charter of freedom ploughs its way, all too slowly, through Parliament. New York is the thirteenth of the United States to enfranchise its women, which it has done by the handsome majority of 80,000 (New York City alone gave the Suffragists a majority of 50,000); and, being the first Eastern State to grant full Adult Suffrage, it is regarded as the immediate forerunner of those remaining States that have yet to take this enlightened step. The Committee of the United Suffragists at once sent a cable of congratulations to the New York Suffragists, which we are sure our readers will wish us to endorse here in their name.

Progress of the Reform Bill

Considerable progress, though not so much as we could have wished, has been made during November with the later stages of the Reform Bill. Perhaps owing in some degree to the representations of Suffragists, the delays and procrastinations, which not so long ago, were fast becoming a scandal, have been latterly much less noticeable, and the last few weeks have seen the completion of the Committee stage and of the greater part of the Report stage of the Bill. Lord Curzon, speaking in the House of Lords on November 22, anticipated that the Bill would be sent up from the House of Commons in another fortnight. He agreed that a measure of that character would require very careful consideration, and was doubtful if the Session could be brought to an end before Christmas.

As we go to press, everything points to a short adjournment over Christmas, though it is not thought that Parliament will have to sit far into the New Year in order to complete its business. Mr. Bonar Law, moving the second reading of the Bill to prolong Parliament another eight months, said on November 13 that the Government hoped to pass the Reform Bill before Christmas. Mr. Hayes Fisher modified this statement slightly on November 19, by anticipating that it would become law "this Session," and when asked to define exactly what he meant by this expression, added—"I will not say actually before Christmas Day, but I will say by the end of the month of December." If the Lords require three weeks or a month in which to discuss the Bill, they certainly cannot pass it before Christmas; they may even not pass it until early in January. But, failing some crisis not at present foreseen, the passage of the Bill can scarcely be delayed beyond the second or third week in January. We cannot forbear repeating that it need never have been delayed so long had it not been for the apathy of many of its supporters outside Parliament, who allowed its enemies within Parliament to seize every pretext for postponement in its earlier stages.

Prospects in the Lords

As the Bill nears its Third Reading in the House of Commons, the question naturally arises as to its prospects in the House of Lords. These will be affected to some extent by the course the Bill has taken in the Commons. Those clauses in which the Commons have departed materially from the compromise arrived at by the Speaker's Conference will doubtless be given particular consideration in the Upper House. The rejection of Proportional Representation, the adoption of Irish Redistribution, the enfranchisement of soldiers and sailors of 19 who have served in the present war, the disqualification of conscientious objectors, and the extension of the municipal franchise to married women over 30—these are all amendments of the original scheme which may give rise to considerable debate in the House of Lords, apart from other proposals, like Woman Suffrage and the abolition of Plural Voting, which, though part of the compromise, may be regarded as highly controversial by the Peers.

There is, no doubt, occasion for anxiety in all these eventualities; but there is no occasion for undue pessimism. The Lords are, on the whole, better constitutionalists than the Commons. Throughout the war, they have been more concerned than the Members of the Lower House over the state of the Register and the consequent unrepresentative character of Parliament. They are not likely to place unreasonable obstacles in the way of the passage of a Reform Bill which will restore to the House of Commons its representative character. In the debate on the second reading of the Parliament and Local Elections (No. 2) Bill, on November 22, the Marquess of Salisbury alone hinted at the unfairness of making so great a change in the constitution of the House of Commons, as would be effected by the Reform Bill, while "the powers of the Upper House should remain in their present truncated condition"—a hint to which substance was given next day, by the announcement in the *Daily Chronicle* that the Report of the Joint Committee on House of Lords reform may be looked for before Christmas. But although the publication of the Report may suggest to the enemies of the Bill another excuse for delay, we do not think it is one that can possibly be taken seriously. All the Peers (even including Lord Salisbury), who took part in the debate in question, spoke of the actual passage of the Representation of the People Bill as a foregone conclusion.

"Impossible to Refuse Assent"

This attitude of acceptance was particularly obvious in the references that were made to Woman Suffrage, the clause with which we ourselves are naturally most concerned. Lord Loreburn objected that this matter—"one of the most disputed subjects of controversy, and one which had never been before a General Election"—as well as other controversial matter, should now be "embodied in a measure *to which it was almost impossible for this House to refuse assent.*" Lord Curzon's reply to this was encouraging, for he maintained that the controversial matter referred to

> would be found to have grown in some form or other out of the war itself. There had grown up an enormous new class of the community demanding the vote, qualified for the vote, whom it was impossible to exclude from the idea of having a vote when the next General Election took place. In that way this great Reform Bill had sprung out of the war . . . Woman Suffrage, about which he had never changed his opinion, had come up in the same natural way as the result of the Speaker's Conference. *It was inevitable that a Reform Bill introduced in these circumstances should contain a provision as regarded suffrage for women*, though it was felt that anyone, in either House of Parliament, should be at liberty to speak and vote as they liked on that subject.

To recognise the inevitability of the inclusion of Woman Suffrage in a great Reform Bill is surely tantamount to recognising the inevitability of leaving it there. We do not underestimate the perils that will surround the women's clause up to the very moment that it is passed by the House of Lords; but we find it difficult to believe that the Peers, who are essentially statesmanlike in their outlook, and not likely to be swayed by passion or undue prejudice, will fail to endorse so vital a part of the compromise arrived at by the Speaker's Committee. The departure from that compromise, embodied in the widening of women's municipal franchise, is likely rather to reconcile Anti-suffragists to women's Parliamentary enfranchisement than otherwise. Mr. Arnold Ward, speaking warmly in defence of the amendment to extend the women's local government vote to married women, said in the House of Commons on November 20:—

> Suppose that this Amendment is rejected; suppose that the Government ask the House to reject it? That will certainly help us enormously in fomenting opposition to the Parliamentary vote in the House of Lords.

Since the amendment was not rejected, but passed without a division, the inference is that the opposition of the Anti-suffragists in the House of Lords will have been weakened, not strengthened, by the addition of some millions of married women to the municipal register. And that is all to the good in balancing suffragist chances in the House of Lords.

To sum up, we have to admit that there is still need for the greatest viligance on the part of Suffragists, that there are still opportunities ahead for delay, of which the enemies of the Bill may avail themselves, that the women's fate will remain uncertain until the House of Lords has ratified the decision of the House of Commons. All this we are compelled to admit, and we beg our readers not to grow careless because victory is near and because victory seems comparatively certain.

Is It to be Our Annus Mirabilis?

But, on the other hand, we are nearer victory than ever before. The New York success shows how opponents may swing round in two short years. Lord Curzon's statement in the House of Lords was not that of a man who meant to urge his fellow Peers to upset the Speaker's compromise, though he reserved his right as an honest man to vote according to his own opinions. Nor is he likely to wish to imperil the safety of a Bill on which the possibility of a General Election depends. Balancing as best we may our chances of success and failure, the scale seems at last to be weighted on the side of success. Incredible as it appears to some of us, who have worked so long and so persistently for this cause that the thought of victory is almost a paralysing one, we do believe that victory is now going to be ours, and that we shall reach our promised land, possibly as the last sands of the Old Year are running out, certainly not later than in the dawn of the New Year. Then, indeed, the year 1918 will be the Annus Mirabilis of British women.

Evelyn Sharp.

NATIONAL HOUSEKEEPING

The Financial Problems Awaiting Women Voters

By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE

3.—PAYING FOR THE WAR

In the two previous articles I have discussed the methods of paying for a war. I now propose to analyse the various sources which have been drawn upon for this purpose, and to attempt an estimate of the proportion in which capital and income respectively have contributed to the war bill of this country. The sources may be classified as follows:—

a. Using up of existing stocks of food, clothing, etc.
b. Letting down of material capital—houses, ships, rolling stock, machinery, land, etc.—by wearing out, rusting out, or enemy action.
c. Sale of foreign investments.
d. Debt incurred to foreign Governments or foreign individuals.

These four constitute loss of capital. The next four are derived from income:—

e. Increase of production.
f. Saving of income by individuals which they would otherwise have spent on their own enjoyment.
g. Saving of income by individuals which they would otherwise have spent on the creation of new capital.*
h. Inflation, which, by raising prices, causes indirectly the stinting of the people as a whole.

To these direct material losses should be added others of a human character, such as the loss by death and disablement of men in the prime of life, the injury to health by overstrain of men, women and children, and other still more intangible losses.

One item alone there is on the credit side of the account, viz., the loans made to foreign nations during the war.

Rough Estimates of Figures

On the assumption that the war stops next July and that the expense of demobilisation follows, the total cost to the State will have been about 8,000 million pounds. Of this sum I hazard as a very rough estimate that about 3,000† millions represents dead loss of capital to the country as a whole, and 5,000‡ millions represents cost paid out of income. In these figures I have made no allowance for the human loss referred to above§, nor for the possible credit** on account of the loans to Dominions and Allies.

The figure of 3,000 millions dead loss of capital should be compared with the total capital wealth of the country, which before the war was estimated at about 12,000 millions. The meaning is that about one-quarter of the capital wealth of the country will have been dissipated in the war, though a part of this may be recovered from Allies and Dominions.

The figure of 5,000 millions should be compared with the aggregate of the five years' income of all the people in the country during the war and the year of demobilisation, which, on the basis of 3,000 millions a year, works out at 15,000 millions. The meaning is that about one-third of the country's income during the five years has been dissipated in the war.

This 5,000 millions has, as a concrete fact, been paid out of the income of the people of the country as a whole, and could have been taken directly by the State in the form of taxation, but instead of this the State has only taken 1,000 millions, the other 4,000 millions having been procured in loans. Consequent upon this policy there has been, in addition to the loss of income and capital of the people as a whole, a change in the distribution of wealth. Before the war less than 5 per cent. of the population owned between them nearly all the material capital of the country; after the war this same tiny class will still own all the existing capital in the country and in addition will in virtue of their war bonds claim a lien on all future production. Unless steps are taken to remedy this maldistribution of wealth very serious consequences are likely to ensue.

The Post-War Budget

Before the war the Budget of the State balanced at about 200 millions of pounds. That is to say, the State raised in taxes about 200 millions and spent the money on the peace establishment of the army and navy, on education, on the postal service, and on a great number of other things. Owing to the rise of prices the cost of all this will be increased after the war by at least 50 per cent., so that 300 millions may be taken as the sum which would meet it. In addition there will be the interest on the debt of 7,000 millions, which will at 5 per cent. cost 350 millions a year; pensions for soldiers and widows, which will cost 50 millions a year, and a sinking fund to pay off the debt year by year, which ought not to be less than 70 millions, i.e., one per cent. of the whole. Adding all these together the expenditure works out at 770 millions. From this sum some allowance should be made for repayments by the Dominions and Allies of the money lent to them, but at the most this reduction is not likely to exceed 70 millions a year. Therefore at least 700 millions will have to be found by taxation, which is three and a-half times the taxation before the war.

This is an enormous sum if it is really to be raised out of the incomes of the people, for it is about one-quarter of the whole income of all the country taken together. It is true that at the present time the taxes amount to about 650 millions, but these are paid out of the largely increased profits and wages for highly paid war work; it will be a very different thing to pay a still larger sum out of the shrunken incomes when the war is over.

Who Will Pay?

Where is the money to come from? That is the main problem which the new women voters will have to help to face and decide. It appears to be a financial problem; but finance is merely the paymaster for economics, and economics is the expression of social life. The real question is what kind of society do we want to see existing, after the war is over, inside our own country? When the war stops there will be a sudden dislocation from the industries of war to the industries of peace. Are the soldiers, when they come back, and the munitioneers, when they leave off munition-making, to devote their time largely to producing expensive luxuries for the very rich, or the simple necessaries of life for the mass of the people? Do we want to preserve and increase the gross inequalities of wealth which existed before the war, or do we want to make a great change which shall abolish slumdom and grinding poverty?

If we want the latter, the first step will be to sweep away the war debt by a great levy on the capital wealth of the country. Many quite clever people think this could not be done, because they imagine that what is proposed is that the State should procure an immense sum *in money* from all the owners of wealth. The State does not want actual money; it wants to wipe out war debt; and it would therefore in the first place accept war debt securities of all kinds as payment of this capital levy. But that is not all. It is generally accepted that after the war the State will want to retain possession of the Railways and the Mines and some other national enterprises. If so, part of the levy could be paid in shares of these concerns.

There is no space to enter into further details of the proposal here; but there is little doubt that if the people want to wipe out the war debt by a capital levy, it can, in spite of difficulties, be done. Difficulties there will be in any case, difficulties of taxation, difficulties of dislocation of industries, difficulties of falling prices. The only hope is that men and women will face them with a desire to make a better country for everyone living in it and with some understanding of the problems at issue.

* This item, though not reducing the amount of capital that was in the country before the war, makes it less than it would have been if instead of years of war there had been years of peace.

† Made up as follows in millions of pounds: (a) 400, (b) 600, (c) 1,000, (d) 1,000.

‡ Made up as follows in millions of pounds: (e) 1,500, (f) 1,500, (g) 1,000, (h) 1,000.

§ If only the economic loss to the country be considered, this item may be put at about 500 millions.

** The total nominal amount by July next will probably be about 1,500 millions, but how much of this sum Italy, Belgium, Servia, Russia can be expected to repay is open to question.

"A COMMUNION OF SINNERS."*

The artist who is also a reformer often finds himself torn between the reformer's zeal to place his own ideals before his audience in the most convincing and favourable light, and the artistic instinct which bids him at all costs to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. As a rule the artistic instinct triumphs in the end; and this is an excellent thing for whatever cause is in question, since it is merely another libel upon democracy to assert that the general public cannot be trusted to hear the evidence upon both sides before pronouncing judgment.

In all Miss Sharp's books we frequently see this struggle—and this triumph—presented visibly before our eyes. In her latest collection of stories the artist scores almost a complete victory; and in consequence the book is one of the best she has given us, as it is one of the most characteristic. Another writer *might* (by a stroke of luck) have written a story like the one here entitled "The Apple Tree," or like "The Patriot's Day," or like "Planting Potatoes"; but nobody in the world, except Miss Sharp, could have written "Number Seventeen's Christmas," or "The Incorrigible Betty," or "Heaven's Paving Stones," with its abrupt, unexpected, wholly delightful conclusion; or that heartrending little episode of mingled humour and pathos, "The Doll." And there could be few better instances of Miss Sharp's unique sense of justice than the fact that, having written "The Vision"—an excellent little tale with an excellent moral—she should promptly balance it by the equally admirable "Making a Man of Him." Both stories deal with a disabled soldier, and with the attitude of his womenkind towards him; both are, in all esentials, true; and yet we see two very different sides of the same picture.

The volume is just the right size to slip into the Christmas stockings of our friends—converted and unconverted. And if perchance they are tempted to stop at home from church and read it on Christmas morning, they will still be able to enjoy the best possible sermon on the virtue of Christian charity.

M. M.

* "A Communion of Sinners." By Evelyn Sharp. Price 1s. 6d. net. (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin.)

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2. Telephone, Holborn 5880

Colours: Purple, White and Orange

THE CAMPAIGN

Monday, December 3; 7.30 p.m.—Open Meeting.—Corporation Chambers, Bolton. Speaker: Miss McNeil.

Tuesday, December 4; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club, 92, Borough Road, S.E. 1. Speaker: Mrs. Gandell, on "Spain."

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8; 3 p.m. to 9 p.m.—CHRISTMAS SALE IN AID OF U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB. CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER. (See page 319.)

Saturday, December 8; 6.30 p.m.—Social Evening—Corporation Chambers, Bolton. Light Refreshments (no sugar). Tickets 1/-.

Tuesday, December 11; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting.—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss K. D. Courtney, on "The Endowment of Motherhood."

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13; 6 p.m.—BUSINESS MEETING—SMALL ESSEX HALL, ESSEX STREET, W.C. 2. FOR MEMBERS OF U.S. NATIONAL BRANCH ONLY.

Tuesday, December 18; 8 p.m.—Open Meeting—U.S. Women's Club. Speaker: Miss Evelyn Sharp, on "Folk Songs." Songs by Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19; 2.30 p.m.—ANNUAL U.S. COUNCIL MEETING—SMALL ESSEX HALL, LONDON. FOR U.S. COMMITTEE AND DELEGATES ONLY.

ESSEX HALL MEETING

The Members' Meeting, held in the Essex Hall on November 16, was very poorly attended, conveying the impression that the bulk of the United Suffragists in London think the cause is already won and that any winning that remains to be done can be performed by somebody else. Those who came were an interested audience, and asked pertinent questions of the speakers, Miss Brewster, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, and Miss Evelyn Sharp, who dealt with the very important and still critical situation of the Reform Bill; and also appealed for help for the Christmas Sale. A large amount of literature was sold.

Mrs. Connery, of the Irish Women's Franchise League, kindly spoke also, and gave a most interesting summary of the Suffrage position in Ireland.

National Branch Meeting

The Committee earnestly hope that all London and other members of the National Branch of the U.S. will make a real effort to put in an appearance at the business meeting in the Small Essex Hall, on December 13, at 6 p.m. (see above). If their supposition—that the Bill is bound to become law—is a correct one, it behoves them all the more to meet for an hour in consultation to determine what proposition for the future of the U.S. they wish to put forward at the Council Meeting in January.

THE "WELCOME" ON OCTOBER 25

In spite of the unwarrantable efforts of a certain section of the press to denounce the U.S. welcome to Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Nevinson as a peace-at-any-price meeting, efforts which succeeded in so far as they induced the proprietors of the Hall that had been engaged to cancel the arrangement, a most enthusiastic and successful gathering took place at the time originally fixed. By the great kindness of Lady Emily Lutyens, a charming suite of rooms were placed at the disposal of the Committee directly the cancellation was made public, and the audience filled them to overflowing. Delightful speeches were made by the two principal guests, and Mr. Nevinson's allusion to the "Pacifist Ocean" was greeted with laughter that was very natural in the circumstances. Lady Emily Lutyens and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence also spoke, both paying a high tribute to the services rendered to the Suffrage cause by the two men whom the audience had met to honour; and Miss Evelyn Sharp presided. The speeches were followed by conversation and "war" refreshments. Among those present were Archdeacon Escreet, Mr. Anderson, M.P., and Mrs. Anderson, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Despard, Madame Olive Schreiner, Dr. Ettie Sayer, Mr. and Mrs. Parry, Mr. Baillie Weaver, Miss Nina Boyle. Interesting letters, expressing regret at inability to be present and speaking in terms of appreciation of the two guests of the evening, were read from Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, Mr. C. P. Scott (Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*), and Mr. J. L. Garvin (Editor of the *Observer*.)

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E.

Secretary: Miss V. Aitken. Tel.: Hop 4172

The chief event of the month has been the Club Council meeting, when a crowded roomful of members and helpers, with Miss Evelyn Sharp in the Chair, met together "in council" to discuss Club business. Several important innovations were suggested, and these were put to the meeting and voted upon. For instance, it was unanimously decided to raise the price of refreshments in order to cover the present increased cost; also that the Club subscriptions in future should be 1d. per week instead of 1d. per month—a suggestion put forward by one of the members and immediately adopted by the others. Other items on the agenda included Club concerts and lectures; also the Club Stall at the Christmas Sale—in connection with which members had much to suggest, and many also much to show; while the meeting concluded with a highly topical, if slightly ominous, discussion on "Raid Precautions."

Lectures. — The lectures during the month have been much appreciated, and hearty thanks are due to Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Dr. Ettie Saver, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Alice Ker, and Mr. John Scurr for their interesting addresses.

Concerts.—Help is urgently needed for the weekly concerts. Will anyone who can sing, recite, or play for us kindly communicate without delay with Mr. Threadgold (41, Colville Gardens, W.), who is in charge of the concerts?

Club Stall.—Contributions to the Club Stall grow apace; thanks are due to the following members for their generous gifts: Mrs. Ballantyne, Miss V. Ballantyne, Miss Bedford, Miss K. Bungard, Miss Ada Clinton, Miss Cotter, Mrs. Conder, Miss Field, Miss A. Golding, Miss N. Glennon, Miss E. Harding, Miss R. Harrison, Mrs. Haynes, Mrs. Henson, Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Matthews, Mrs. Sims, Mrs. Simmonds, Miss Simmonds, Mrs. Sherard, Mrs. Tate, Mrs. Watts, Miss Kate Wells, Miss May Wells.

Jumble Sale.—The Jumble Sale has been postponed until the beginning of December, by which time we hope to collect a sufficient supply of warm garments to make a successful sale. All parcels of clothing will be gladly welcomed. We gratefully acknowledge contributions from the following: Mrs. Silver, Mrs. Gandell, Miss Mildred Henderson, Miss Young, Miss Crawford, Mrs. Gregory, Miss Farmer, and Miss Evelyn Sharp.

ASHFORD U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mr. John Marsh, 45, Royd's Road, Willsborough, Kent. Organizer: Miss Maude White, Magazine House, Winchelsea, Sussex

Councillor Ellis, J.P., will speak at the P.S.A. on Sunday, December 2, instead of Mrs. Despard. Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck has very kindly promised to speak at a meeting for women in January. Time and place of meeting will be announced later. A large audience listened to Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett's brilliant speech at the P.S.A. last month. She made special reference to the allotment scheme, pointing out that working-men should have land attached to their houses, thereby enabling them to remain at home with their wives and children.

The Jumble Sale will be held at the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Tuesday, December 4, at 3 p.m. Will mmbers and friends send any parcels to the hall in the morning? Someone will be there to receive them at 11 o'clock. There will be the usual clothing stalls. A small number of Christmas presents will be on sale; also a cup of tea and a cake can be had at a low cost. The proceeds of this sale will go towards the organising fund, donations to which will be gratefully received. Already acknowledged: Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, £1 1s.; Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, £1 1s.; Ashford P.S.A., 10s.; Mrs. Harrison, £1 1s.; Miss M. Harrison, 10s. 6d.

BOLTON U.S.

Hon. Sec. and Treas.: Miss S. W. Holden, 110, Tottington Road, Harwood, Bolton

The usual monthly meeting was held on November 5, Mr. Spencer in the Chair. There was a good attendance of members and friends to hear Miss Collinge on "The Necessity for Moral Instruction in Schools." This essay gained the second prize in Great Britain awarded by the Moral Instruction League. Miss Collinge pleaded for the moral element being infused in all lessons, and said that the children should be approached through their imagination to emulate great people and good deeds. Much could be done if the teachers themselves had high ideals. Discussion followed, and keen appreciation of the paper was expressed.

HAMPSTEAD U.S.

Hon. Secretaries: Miss Daisy Solomon, 64, Pattison Road, N.W. 2; Miss E. Engert, 3, Pattison Road, N.W. 2.

A small but successful public meeting was held at the Library, Prince Arthur Road, on Saturday, November 10, when Miss Lind-af-Hageby gave a most interesting address on "Citizenship." The Rev. J. M. E. Ross presided, and his presence was warmly welcomed, as it was his first appearance at a U.S. meeting. A lively discussion over the tea-cups followed, and we all felt that we had spent a really delightful afternoon. Literature to the amount of 5s. 6d. was disposed of. Miss Sharp's book, "A Communion of Sinners," was eagerly sought after, and all the copies we had were sold.

All our energies must now be concentrated on our next piece of work, namely, the Provision Stall at the U.S. Women's War Sale on December 8. Many members have not yet responded to our appeal. Please help us as liberally as possible, so that we may have as good a result as last year. Small donations from those who cannot send goods will be most welcome.

KENSINGTON U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Postlethwaite, 27, Warwick Chambers, Pater Street, Kensington, W. 8.

In answer to the appeal on behalf of the Toy Stall, the following gifts are gratefully acknowledged:—Mrs. Fox, for her generous contribution of toys; Miss Fox, for a present of dolls; and Mrs. Brewster, for her welcome gift of stuffed animals. Others have given donations as follows: Miss Martin, Mrs. Mayatt, Mrs. Morrison, and Lieut. Postlethwaite. More toys are needed if this stall is to be a success; will members please make a note of this?

HENDON WOMEN'S FRANCHISE SOCIETY

(Affiliated to United Suffragists)
Hon. Sec.: Mrs. McCabe, 49, Bridge Lane, Hendon, N.W. 4.

Two meetings were held during November, both of which were very successful. On the afternoon of November 2 Miss Alison Neilans, Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Social and Moral Hygiene, explained to us the various clauses contained in the new Criminal Law Amendment Bill, comparing each with clauses dealing with the same subjects in the present law, showing where there was actual improvement, and pointing out those parts where the gain would prove more apparent than real. A good discussion followed, and our members felt they had gained understanding of a problem which had previously been somewhat obscure. On the evening of the 16th Miss Pearce opened a debate on "Should the Allies Negotiate for Peace now?" and was of opinion that no harm, and possibly much good, would result from our trying to gain the German point of view, and giving them ours. Mrs. How-Martyn opposed, comparing the present war with the Napoleonic wars, the American Civil War, and many others, placing it in a sound, historic perspective. Amongst many other reasons against negotiations now was the necessity for Germany to return to her own frontiers, as a guarantee of good faith, before any negotiations which were destined to bear fruit could be undertaken. A good number of those present joined in the discussion.

Miss Newcomb's account of the life and work of Mary Slessor has been postponed till the New Year. Mary Slessor's work, by the way, was carried out in Nigeria, *not* India, as reported in last month's notes.

On Saturday, December 8, in aid of the funds of the Society, we are to have an "American Tea" at 105, Hampstead Way, H.G.S., by kind invitation of Mrs. Errington. Proceedings will begin at 3.30, and tea—without sugar—will be served from four o'clock at 4d. and 6d. each. A musical programme has been arranged, and each guest is urged to *bring* a gift and *purchase* one brought by someone else.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS' CHRISTMAS SALE

In Aid of the Women's War Club, Southwark

Opening by LADY COWDRAY, at 3 p.m., on SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, at the CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER (near Westminster Hospital)

The arrangements for the Annual Christmas Sale, held by the United Suffragists ,are now complete; and it only remains for our readers and the public generally to join with U.S. members, as they have done so generously in former years, in making a great financial success of the Sale, and so securing the maintenance of the Women's War Club for another year.

WHAT THE CLUB IS

We have said it before, but it is perhaps worth repeating that the United Suffragists' Women's Club, at 92, Borough Road, Southwark, is worth supporting. It is not a "charity," in the ordinarily accepted sense of that misused word. It is not a club run *for* one class of women *by* another class of women. There are no artificial distinctions of that kind at 92, Borough Road. Women of all classes and kinds meet there for recreation and rest, for mutual sympathy and help, for conversation and refreshment, and all the usual things for which one meets in clubs everywhere. Naturally, the Club members, who are women of the workers' class, predominate; and although what they contribute to the funds is as much as they can afford, and therefore equal to what the wealthier women helpers and friends of the club contribute—for they also give as much as they can afford—the sum total is not sufficient to meet all the expenses of rent, heating, lighting, and general upkeep.

That is why the Christmas Sale has to be held.

The U.S. Club Stall

And in the Sale, as in all the other affairs of the Club (of which the rules are made by the members themselves, when they meet periodically in council, together with the secretary, the helpers, and the U.S. Committee), everybody helps to the best of her ability; so that side by side with the other stalls is the U.S. Club stall, entirely stocked by the Southwark women and girls who use the Club. For weeks they have been denying themselves in order to bring gifts for their own stall; and it is going to be one of the best! Some have made charming, as well as useful, articles for it; some have put by really valuable items from their weekly shopping, such as soap, candles, groceries, and—*matches!* So the U.S. Club Stall will really be worth a visit on December 8.

OTHER STALLS

Farm Produce and Provisions.—Hampstead and Golder's Green U.S.

Flowers.—Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

Refreshments.—Miss Walford.

Books.—Mrs. Elaine Whelen.

Toys.—Miss Postlethwaite.

General (including embroideries).—Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. McCall.

Useful Articles.—U.S. Club members.

Parcels.—Miss Robson-Young.

U.S. Literature Stall.—Dr. Alice Ker and Miss Somers.

Threepenny Housewives' Dip.—(Including tea and perhaps sugar!) Miss McCall.

Twopenny Children's Dip. — Miss McCall.

Games and Competitions. — Miss McCall.

SOME ATTRACTIONS

In addition, there will be a String Band, kindly organised by Mr. French, the performers of which are all generously giving their services. There will be palmists, and portrait sketches by Miss K. Olver and Miss Rock, and many amusing games of skill, for which prizes can be won.

THE OPENING

Lady Cowdray will open the Sale at 3 o'clock. This means a great deal, for, as everybody knows, Lady Cowdray is an extremely busy public woman, and spends her life in public work for the advancement of women. She has always been, of course, a Suffragist; so United Suffragists are doubly glad to have this opportunity of meeting her on the eve of the enfranchisement of women. Those who are anxious not to miss the opening ceremony must not arrive later than 3 o'clock.

HOW OUR FRIENDS CAN HELP

These are some of the things you can do:—1. Write at once to Miss Brewster, Hon. Organising Secretary (United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.2), for handbills of the Sale and enclose them in all your letters to your friends. They are very pretty handbills, and well worth sending!

2. Write also for tickets of admission. These will cost you only 6d. *before the day*, as the tax will be defrayed by the U.S. On the day itself they will cost 8d.

3. Look down the list of stalls and side-shows given above, and see what you can send to each one. All contributions must be sent to 27, Chancery Lane; and *promises* of contributions will be welcomed *at once*.

4. Make up a party to come to the Sale. On a Saturday afternoon in the dark week of the month, this should be an easy and a pleasant task. Bring the children to try their chance at a game of skill, or to have a dip in the bran tub. No one is proposing that you should be extravagant in war time. You will have to buy a few Christmas presents in any case, if only for friends at the front, or in camp, or on the sea. Come and buy them at our Book Stall, our General Stall. The children must have toys and books at Christmas time; why not buy them at our Christmas Sale and help the Club at the same time? You must do your household shopping somewhere; come and do it at our Provision Stall, where you will find eggs, butter, vegetables, fruit, tea (perhaps sugar!), jam, game, pressed beef, and many necessaries; also at the U.S. Club Stall, where you will find soap, soda, matches, everything you want for household use—and without waiting in a queue for it! Our members are denying themselves many of these things now in order to stock these two particular stalls at the Sale; the least you can do is to come and buy them on the day.

A War Tea

Then you can sit down and listen to the band and have a war tea. And afterwards, when you get home, you can feel that you have helped to maintain the Club for another year, and so to bring a good deal of relief and gladness to many whose lives at this time would be otherwise filled only with anxiety and sadness.

OTHER SOCIETIES

The following Societies will co-operate with the U.S. by taking stalls at the Sale, thus contributing towards the expenses while raising money for their own special fund:—

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, Church League for Women's Suffrage, Free Church League for Woman Suffrage, Independent Women's Social and Political Union, Women's Freedom League, Suffragettes of the W.S.P.U., and the International Suffrage Shop.

TICKETS OF ADMISSION

The price of admission to the Sale will be 8d. (including tax) from 3 p.m. till 6 p.m.: after 6 p.m., Free. Tickets applied for *before the day* will cost only 6d., the amount of tax being in that case defrayed by the U.S.

IMPORTANT!

All applications for tickets or handbills, and, in fact, all communications relating to the Christmas Sale, to be addressed to Miss Brewster, United Suffragists' Offices 27, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on a Woman

The *Morning Advertiser* (October 15) reports case of a man charged at West Ham, before Mr. Ratcliffe Cousins, with violently attacking a neighbour who was helping his wife to remove furniture. He punched her face, tore her blouse, pulled her hair, and kicked her.

Sentence: *Fined 20s., or 13 days.*

Attack on a Widow and a Constable

The *Birmingham Weekly Post* (September 29) reports case of a man charged at Birmingham with attacking a young widow, from whom he demanded money, and throwing her to the ground. He also kicked and attacked the policeman who came to her rescue.

Sentence: *Three months' imprisonment for each assault, the sentences to run concurrently.*

HEAVY SENTENCES

Fraud

The *Times* (September 26) reports case of a young woman charged at Liverpool with defrauding the Government by stealing "ring papers" and drawing separation allowances.

Sentence: *Twelve months' hard labour.*

False Pretences

The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (October 11) reports case of a man charged at Sheffield Quarter Sessions before the Assistant Recorder, with obtaining goods on false pretences for which he had not paid. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: *Three years' penal servitude.*

We do not defend fraudulent dealings because we contrast the severe sentences recorded in the right-hand column of the above table of comparisons with the light sentences recorded in the left-hand column. But it is indisputable that offences whereby people are deprived of money or property are regarded with infinitely more seriousness by the administrators of the law (and often by the law itself) than crimes in which women, or others, are injured and assaulted in person. It is that pernicious principle, or want of principle, that we in this paper have always denounced, as our readers know well; and it is illustrated once more by the comparisons set out above. In this connexion we also refer our readers to the note in our Outlook on page 313, entitled "The Right to Uxoricide."

SUFFRAGISTS OVERSEAS

The British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union gave a luncheon on Monday, November 19, at the Ashburton Restaurant, in honour of Miss MacAdams, lately elected a member of the Albertan Legislature. Miss Sheepshanks (Chair), after congratulating the guest on her new responsibilities, instanced other examples of the progress of the woman's movement, e.g., enfranchisement in New York State, and the entrance of a woman M.P. into the Norwegian House. Miss MacAdams, in a most delightful speech, attributed her success in no way to her own personal attributes, but to the work which all women had done, as vast in quantity as it was excellent in quality, to inspire confidence in and reverence for her sex. She owed her seat to her sister-women in all parts of the world.

Mrs. Fawcett spoke briefly of the significance of the occasion, and of the strenuous efforts of the women of this country to procure recognition as citizens—efforts about to be crowned with success. Mr. Pethick Lawrence said a few words of sympathy and congratulation.

WOMEN WRITERS' LEAGUE

We are asked to announce that Miss Elizabeth Robins has become President of the Women Writers' Suffrage League, and Miss Peggy Webling, Chairman of Committee. The League has moved to 42, West Cromwell Road, S.W.5.; and members who have not been notified of the move are asked to communicate with the Secretary at the above address.

DIVORCE REFORM UNION

The Secretary of the Divorce Law Reform Union (19, Buckingham Street, W.C. 2) writes to us as follows: "The attention of the Divorce Law Reform Union has been called to several leaflets in circulation, which are supposed to have been published by the Union. They, therefore, desire to state that all literature and leaflets issued by the Union bear its name and address."

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Do your Saturday's Shopping at the Sale! Buy your Christmas presents, and bring the Children with you.

If you cannot come to the Sale, send us contributions beforehand in **MONEY or KIND.**

COMMUNICATE AT ONCE WITH MISS BREWSTER, Hon. Secretary, United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2, to whom all correspondence on the subject of the Sale should be addressed.

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